

SOME 8
REFLECTIONS
ON
CHARLES III.'s
EXPEDITION
TO
SPAIN.

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RECEIVED

GENERAL

EXPEDITION

SPAIN

A. O. M. D. C.

Printed for

SOME REFLECTIONS, &c.

Christendom never appeared less 'so than at this juncture, never was War so universally prosecuted with such Ardour and Vehemence, or Princes so Jealous of each other's Power. There is none but is feared of, and fears his Neighbour; and their Preparations are proportionable to their Suspicions. The Consternation is general: All are busied and intent upon some mighty Revolution. *Europe* labours with the Wonderful Birth: And *Flanders*, *Italy* and *Germany* (the Seat and Center of the Hurry and Confusion) seem in Convulsions at the approach of the Prodigy.

The *Italian* Princes never had so much work on their hands, or so little Resolution to go through it. They Arm, but make no Resistance: And seem Vigilant, and upon their Guard, yet are surprized. They raise Forces to preserve

their Territories from the Insults of Invaders, yet their Country lyes open to the Depredations of two Foreign Armies. They seem rather to expect, than help to give the wholesome Blow; and hope, than endeavour the Tranquility of their Country. Their Towns are fraudulently ravished from them, their Subjects violently oppressed, The Sacred Regard of their Treaties violated and null'd, The Authority of their Persons neglected and contemned. Thus, tho they suffer from their Friend and Ally all the Insolencies of a Conqueror, yet with a fatal supineness caress their Oppressor. Tho the Cloud, 'tis hoped, is scattering, and the Sun-shine breaking from Savoy will probably infuse Vigour and Activity in the rest of the Italian Princes, and animate them to Resolves worthy of Themselves, and Consonant to the wholesome Example of that Duke: Who has shewn, That, tho' the *French* Torrent be violent and rapid, yet with Resolution it may be stopt.

It is very amazing to see with what facility the *French* King has gained upon Princes to their disadvantage: How constantly he deceives; and yet when he promises, as constantly believed. No Prince, at the first view, was ever more charmingly engaging, or more destructive when embraced. *Spain* is as eminent an Example of the one, as she is a miserable Object of the other.

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What but the Artifice of *France* cou'd have prevail'd with Her in so palpable a Fraud, to the prejudice of her Lawful Sovereign, or when prevailed on, what Ingratitude but hers cou'd inflict the Miseries she labours under.

It is high time then for Her to endeavour Her Recovery, and turn her Homage to the Lawful Object of it. Whether she will, (tho probable) 'tis yet uncertain ; But that it is her Interest so to do, is as apparent as her present Calamities.

Tho from these we may be induced to believe She is apprehensive of her Error, and only waits an opportunity to discover her Affections to the House of *Austria* ; whose Government she may hope will prove gentler, but is assured cannot be more imperious and enslaving, than the present. The Severity of the House of *Bourbonne* is very likely then to give a great list in favour of *Charles the Third*, whose Expedition, if full of Danger and Difficulty, (as some are pleased to represent it) is the fitter for a Prince called to so great a Monarchy : If easie and without hazard, (as we would wish it) the less we have to fear his Success.

As the Eyes of all Potentates are intent upon this young Prince, and impatiently wait the Issue of his Enterprize ; which is so important and fatal, that on it depends the Security of *Europe* : So it is to be presumed not ungrateful to offer
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some Reasons for their hopes, as a prelibation of the happy event, they with such earnest applications are labouring to compass.

And since the Hand of Providence a second time interposing, and obviating the execution of their Councils, has given occasion to our Enemies to insinuate the dislike and anger of Heaven against them; It will not be amiss to enquire whether *Charles* the Third and His Allies ought to impute it such.

'Tis true, Changes of Empire, Subversion of Governments, and the like, are generally preceded by some praternatural Contingence; and therefore we have reason to esteem the late Storm as a presage of some future dispensation of Providence: Tho' whether it points at the rise of *Charles* the Third's Empire, or the establishment of *Philip* the Fifth on the Throne of *Spain*, is altogether ridiculous to determine, and a very daring Presumption, to anticipate the Wisdom of Heaven. To conjecture then is the utmost of our Knowledge, and the Guess that is backt with the best Reason, is the most preferable. To come then to the point. The Allies, as they are Debtors to God, ought, I confess, to apply the presage of his Vengeance to themselves; not that such an application can suppose them the Objects of it, more than their Enemies, they be-
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ing common transgressors with them, and consequently as obnoxious to the Divine Wrath; but as they are sensible of the Provocations given on their part, and that their deepest Humiliation cannot in Justice atone for the least Offence.

In this respect the Enemy has as much reason to fear, as the Confederates. And if they do not, it is rather a sign of a less Share of Grace, than the result of their Merit. And farther, had the Presage respected more particularly *Charles* the III. than *Philip* the V. the Damage arising from it would probably have been more directly level'd at the first: But since it was common, and neither can boast being exempted from it, thus far both with the same Parity of Reason may dread the worst.

But then, as Prodigies are commonly ominous to Powers already established, *Charles* the III. seems to gain the ascendant in this. He not being settled on the Throne of *Spain*, cannot be deposed. So that a turn of Affairs (as is generally expected from the late præternatural contingency,) is not likely to prove to his Disadvantage. Now the best Perswasive to a Belief of this is Example, and not to search into Antiquity, and trouble our selves with things remote, and consequently for their distance not so likely to influence, I shall only mention one in the memory of most of us :

Which is the Expedition of the Prince of *Orange* to *England*, and the late Revolution that followed. It is to be observed, that He was detained by contrary Winds some considerable time, and by Winds not much inferiour, if at all, to the late Hurricane, for which our Gracious Queen ordained so solemn a Humiliation, yet he despair'd not of, nor wanted Success. Now had He applyed the Omen to himself, and stayed at home, without accomplishing the good Work he was design'd for, we might have groaned under the Oppression to this Day.

Why then should that which has been the happy Presage of Success to one Prince, be ominous to another in the like Case? And indeed it is so parallel, that it ought rather to animate and excite *Charles* the III, than deject him. *His* Pretensions to the Throne of *Spain* are so just, that he may more than hope a good Issue. But because Justice does not always prevail, and sometimes Usurpers are permitted to keep themselves steady and fixt upon the Thrones of others, and often to secure them to their Posterity; we cannot draw any certain conclusion of the Event of this Enterprize; tho we may give a shrewd Guess, if we endeavour to resolve the following Queries.

I. Whether

- I. Whether the *Spaniards* are perswaded that the Will of their late Monarch is fictitious ?
- II. If they are so perswaded, whether they do not resent it ?
- III. Whether they wou'd not embrace the first Opportunity that offered to discover their Relentments ?
- IV. If the Will were true, whether it wou'd appear to them sufficient Authority to continue firm in the Interest of the Duke of *Anjou* ?
- V. Whether, setting aside the legality or illegality of that Prince to their Monarchy, It is their Interest to maintain Him on the Throne ?
- VI. Whether the *Spaniards* can affect a Prince that is a branch of the House of *Bourbon* for their Sovereign ?
- VII. Whether the House of *Bourbon* can recommend itself like that of *Austria* ?
- VIII. If the House of *Austria* be preferable to that of *Bourbon*, whether they apprehend it so ?
- IX. If they do, whether we may not reasonably infer, that they will be inclined to favour the Expedition of *Charles the Third* ?

X. If they are so inclined, whether now it be in their Power to do it ?

XI. Upon proof of these Queries, whether *Charles the Third* has not a fair prospect of the Crown of *Spain* ?

I. As to the first of these, Since it is not to be expected to have a full and positive proof of it ; to search into the Minds and Hearts of Men being beyond the reach of Humane Penetration, and only peculiar to the Divine, we must be contented to take up with the best and most reasonable circumstances, which yet may give a great light into our Enquiry. Now in cases of this nature, there are two things by which the Enemy might endeavour to perswade ; either by Insinuating matter of fact, or by the fact it self. The first of these cou'd never prevail with the *Spaniards* to a belief of the verity of their late Monarch's supposed Will. No people in *Europe* entertaining a worse opinion of the *French* than they ; and consequently must be supposed to take the greater umbrage at any proceedings of *France*, either seemingly for, or openly against them : And considering the constant, and, as it were, Hereditary Enmity between those two Nations for so many Ages, it wou'd be wonderful if they shou'd not be surpriz'd at so sudden an amity between

between their Prince, and the Court of *France*, which would certainly put them upon the strictest enquiry in a matter of so great importance. And if to these we add their natural jealousy of temper, we cannot but suppose them over-cautious, and even scrupulous of matter of fact, when produced from such hands.

The Efforts then of the *French* in this would be altogether successless. From their supposed matter of fact they cou'd promise themselves no more : The Will being in itself really spurious, and consequently cou'd not be attended with those infallible tokens and marks of Verity, requisite to perswade a prejudiced people. To convince, The fact must have been publicly and solemnly performed, with the Consent of other Governments as well as that of *Spain*; which cou'd not be done, without exposing the Fraud.

What Warrants they had, were produced by two or three only, which They suspected were, and have been since apparently the immediate Agents of the Enemy. From these we may venture to conclude the *Spaniards* sensible of the fraud, and really perswaded, (tho they are forced as yet to smother their Resentments) that the supposed Will of their late Sovereign is fictitious; which will very much favour the Expedition of *Charles the 3d.*

II. Now to conclude them sensible of the Fraud, and not resent the Injury arising from it, wou'd suppose them not *Spaniards*. The Constitution of those people is too well known even to men but half-eyed in History; to represent them forgetful of Injuries : On the contrary, We may, upon a search into their private Deporments to one another, find, that where their private Jealousie only, without any ground for it, has suggested any wrong done to them, their resentments have been very violent. What then must they be in a Case so palpable as this, where they have such substantial proofs of a Cheat, and that so fatal as this has been, and is so likely still to prove to them. To suppose them not concerned at such an Indignity, where their National Welfare is brought into immediate danger, is to reflect on the known Wisdom of that grave Nation, and has been observed much unlike the usual Constitution of a *Spaniard*. But maugre all suppositions, we have as evident proofs of their Indignation, as *Charles* the 3d and his Allies cou'd wish for. It is not to be believed the *Amirante* of *Castile* wou'd have left such large Possessions, and the new Honour and Office of Ambassador to the Court of *France*, so lately conferr'd on, and intrusted to him, had he not taken Umbrage at the mischievous Forgery

gery of the pretended Will of his late Master; or if he had not been pretty well assured, by the Disposition of his Fellow Country-men, that he shou'd be reinstated to his and their satisfaction. This is sufficient to evince the sense the *Spaniard* has of the deceit, without adding the frequent exclamations of the people in *Spain*, and other Dominions under the *Spanish* Jurisdiction, in favour of *Charles* the Third, or their Insurrections that wou'd, if occasion were offered, blaze out in a general Conflagration.

III. 'Tis not therefore to be doubted, but that, shou'd occasion favour, they wou'd discover their indignation, and perhaps execute whatever the implacency of their resentments should prompt to them. This we may presume from the nature of the Injury, which is such as does affect not only the present Age, but entails the damage on their Posterity. If it threatens (as certainly it does) their Constitution already, it is likely to terminate in a total subversion of it hereafter. And as it renders them blameable to Posterity for whatever miscarriages shall arise from their supineness now, it wou'd be very amazing to see them tardy upon occasion to exert themselves. It wou'd be beneath the Character of Men to truckle to a known Forgery. Indeed to stifle
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their Anger till an opportune season to discharge it is Wisdom. Self-preservation never fails to put Men upon inventions to secure themselves, and in the pursuit of it fortifies them against any apparent or real Difficulties; much more then must it excite them to embrace an opportunity that offers itself, without the hazard of a difficult search for it. What Man, craftily led out of his way, will not, upon credible information given him, seek the best Road, and when found, take to it, to rectifie his error, and prevent any damage. To be cheated is so aggravating to a Generous Spirit, that some wou'd abandon a known and real interest, rather than suffer the reflexion; not so much respecting the profit as the honesty of the fact. For there are more than Tully of the Opinion, *Quod honestum, id Utile*. But in this case there is no appearance of the recommendation of Profitable: The seeming benefit arising so on a sudden from so long continued an Enemy, and that not obligingly offered, but imposed by force; which alone wou'd be sufficient to raise a doubt of its reality, and excite them to a readiness on any occasion to extricate themselves, as out of an apparent danger: And 'tis not to be questioned but they will.

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IV. But suppose their late Monarch did execute a Will in favour of the Duke of *Anjou*, and that it was (as it was not) attended with all imaginable characters of Truth ; Wou'd this appear Authority enough to them to fix him on the Throne ? I believe not. The Power of the Testator being altogether questionable. *Spain* is not an Elective, but Hereditary Kingdom ; nor cou'd he cut off the right Heir by bequeathing it to any other, without the unanimous consent of the Nation, (which he never advised with about it while in Health, and cou'd not on his Death-bed,) and that too upon some special Reason, which he had not, or at least gave none. The Renunciation of the Female Heirs to the Crown of *Spain* before their Intermarriages with the Houses of *Bavaria* and *Bourbon* entirely defeats the pretensions of the Duke of *Anjou* ; so that the Will without Force would have availed him little, and his pretended Right less. Again, A King is but Tenant for Life ; what he holds, at his Death ceases to be his, and consequently he cannot alienate the right of another, or assume a privilege to give, what is not his. As Heirs are constituted by God, so they ought to be Sacred and Inviolable ; the *Spaniards* then cou'd not be supposed to act in favour of their late Monarch's Will, without a ma-

nifest Rebellion to God, and their now Lawful Sovereign ; which no people wou'd do, that considers the Curse likely to impend over such a Nation as hurts or abuses the Lord's anointed.

V. But as Interest seems to be the Master spring of all humane actions, so sometimes it interferes and clashes with Rights and Titles ; and therefore often hurries a People in pursuit of it to a breach of their Duty both to God and their Prince. This wou'd be a very melancholy Reflection, as matters now stand ; If the Duke of *Anjou* has the ascendant in this. But as the contrary is evident, from the Mischiefs she has already, and as I may say, before his Settlement on the Throne, involved *Spain* in ; It is as joyful a prospect to *Charles* the Third. If the Duke of *Anjou's* Government is so imperious, whilst the Crown is unfixt and tottering, how Tyrannical must it prove, when securely established. Can *Spain* expect milder and gentler treatment from *France* than *France* it self ? Can a *French* Prince abandon his Nature ? Can a *Spanish* habit make him less the Son of *Lewis* the 14th, and less a Native of *France* ?

— *Cælum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt.*

A *French-man* will be so in all Countries: Can *Spain* expect, when she sees even the Subjects of *France* tainted with the common Poyson of their Prince, that the Son of that Prince, and only he shou'd degenerate, and be more good? But since no proof is so convincing as experience, we need but have recourse to the *Spaniards* themselves. Suppose we shou'd expostulate the Case with them at this juncture: Whether they esteem it their Interest to have the Constitution of their Government, unalterable by time, changed and subverted by a Foreign Prince, and that an Usurper? Whether the Imposition of new Laws, in prejudice of their own and better, the imprisonment of the Natives for pretended disrespect to Foreigners, the spoyling them of their Offices and Employs, the illeg^{al} extorting of greater sums than their ability will permit, to support him in his Tyranny over them? If we shou'd, I say, enquire whether these are for their advantage, no man half-witted but would be able to give the reply. It is plain then that they cannot esteem it their Interest to act in his behalf.

VI. And consequently cannot affect him for their Prince. As Love is the most refined and noblest passion, so it is to be excited by generous and worthy acts only: Our Endeavours to please and oblig

oblige those to whom we wou'd render our selves the Object of it, are the strongest motives to engage them. To kindle Love in others, we first be affected with it our selves, or at least appear so ; and both these, if we wou'd perswade, must be attended with real or seemingly good Offices. The Duke of *Anjou* wants both these Recommendations. His Actions have discovered his Inclinations too plainly, and they have left no colour of an amicable Disposition to the Subjects of *Spain* : And certainly Ill Offices must create a Dislike, and if continued, Hatred. If Oppression goads me, I cannot but have an aversion to the Author of my Pains. I cannot look upon my Wounds, but with abhorrence of the Giver. Can *Spain* repine at her Calamities, and not animadvert upon the Oppressor ? But what cou'd they expect from a Branch of a House, that has for so many Ages something antipathetical to them ingrafted in their Nature ? Can the House of *Bourbon*, so widely divided in Opinion and Interest, be ever entirely *Spanish* ? Can the Court of *Madrid* be pleased to see herself become the Model of *Versailles* ? Can she sit contented, and not dislike the predominance of her Laws over Her ? Can She quietly submit to become a Viceroyalty ? And yet how can She resent those Injuries, and not be regretted at the Author of it ? It is true,
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She cannot reflect with reluctance on a Branch of the House of *Bourbon*, meerly as such, but as it continues such when transplanted into *Spain*. Thus they cannot affect the Duke of *Anjou*; but will probably turn their Eyes upon a Prince better recommended.

VII. And here *Charles* the Third seems to tower above Him. It is a general receiv'd Maxim, That *boni ex bonis orti*, The Eagle cannot produce a fearful Dove. We may then from the mild Government of the Emperor (abating his prejudice in Religion to those of a contrary perswasion, which is the effect rather of his Bigotry than Nature) gather the gentle Disposition of his Son. The juster the Government of the House of *Austria* is, so much the more preferable it is to that of *France*. Who would not shelter themselves under the Wings of the *Austrian* Eagle, to avoid the scorching fervour of the *Gallick* Sun? So vast is the difference of Empire, that Severity commands, but Lenity wins Obedience; the one forces the Body, the other gains upon the Heart. The Duke of *Anjou* seems to be King of *Spain*, and *Charles* the Third King of the *Spaniards*. But not to intermeddle farther with the Morals of these Princes, let us see
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how they are recommended from without. I shall not enquire into their Descent, tho 'tis sure the House of *Austria* is the most Ancient and August ; it not being very material. I shall only observe two things : The Precedency of Right, and the Voice of Nations. That *Charles* the Third claims a juster pretension to the Throne of *Spain* than the Duke of *Anjou*, is already evinced. Indeed it needed no Argument to back it, it being self-evident. As to the consent of Nations, *Charles* the Third still has the preheminnence. The House of *Bourbon* obtaining no other approbation than its own.

VIII. 'Tis impossible to be deceived in matters of fact. They may be misrepresented, and so create a false Judgment, but the result cannot be fallible upon demonstration. The *Spaniards* have not things upon report, they are too immediately concerned, to be ignorant of any transaction, and consequently cannot be misapprehensive of the proceedings of either of these Princes ; they actually feel the heaviness of the one, but have to expect better upon the trial of the other. They are fully perswaded of the Right and Title of *Charles* the 3d, and as positively assured of the unjust pretensions of the

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the Duke of *Anjou*. They see all the rest of the Potentates of *Europe* in Confederacy against them, if they embrace the latter; and ready to joyn with, and assist them, if they reject him. It wou'd be absurd for them to suppose a general mistake, to insinuate the right of a particular: It is as common as true a Proverb, One may be in the wrong, but all cannot; the *Spaniards* therefore cannot but be sensible of the preference.

IX. The hopes then of *Charles* the third and his Allies we find are not groundless: For it must be inferred, that where a people are sensible of the false step taken, and no less ignorant of the damage arising from it, they will assist such as endeavour to extricate them, and render them as happy, as they are now miserable. This is so consonant to Reason, that it requires not the embellishment of an Harrangue to insinuate the certainty of it. For no man can without absurdity deny, that, where Religion, Conscience, and Interest united are the motives, they must be prevalent.

X. But are they at this time, as their Condition is, as capable of aiding their Sovereign

as they are willing ? It were to be wished they were. The *French* King seems to have so fastened their Shackles, that they appear at present but as future Monuments of his Trophies : And so far incapable of assisting others, that they cannot be serviceable to themselves. But tho they cannot so immediately be assisting and aiding to their Lawful Sovereign, yet at a distance they may. They cannot, 'tis true, being surrounded by *French* Troops, superiour to themselves, drive out the Enemy of their Prince, to receive him triumphantly, yet when the decisive Stroke is to be given, they are in a Capacity to strengthen it. Their Power is too weak alone, but revolted, and united to their Prince, no force will be stronger; though their Hands are the Enemy's, yet their Hearts may be their Prince's. If they are restrained from taking up Arms in favour of their Sovereign yet they may advantage Him in the Discovery of His Enemy's Councils. If whenever he attacks too strong, they may simulate Weakness, and pretend a Necessity to surrender as they wish. Thus no Fortifications, no Armies, no Caution can prevent their Endeavours for their Prince.

XI. And happy must be the Success, where the Cause is so just, and heartily espoused. And of the two, *Charles* the third, (tho the other is in possession) is the most secure of the *Spanish* Crown. An Empire upheld by violence cannot continue ; nor are the Hands long to be commanded, where the Heart goes not with them. The *Austrian* Comet hovers over the head of the Usurper, and portends his fall from his present Grandeur. We may then without presumption promise our selves the issue we wish ; For where the aspect of affairs is so benign, we cannot but be assured of the happy Influence.

Now tho it has been observed that a Coercive and Illegal Power sometimes is permitted, for some unknown end of Providence , yet Justice oftner prevails ; God having a peculiar Eye to the execution of one of his own Attributes. This is evident from the happy, tho late, Restoration of *Charles* the Second to this Kingdom. When Justice seem'd not so much eclipsed, as extinguished and swallowed up in the long and uninterrupted Reign of an Usurper ; when there were no hopes, no not so much as a thought of her Recovery ; then she broke from
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the long continued Cloud with double and amazing Splendour. So that, tho our hopes shou'd be disappointed for a season, yet we may expect a good Conclusion. But not to pry into the unsearchables of Providence, Let us consider who they are that espouse the Cause of *Charles* the third, and whether they do it with that Zeal requisite for so glorious an Enterprize.

The Allies then that are in Confederacy with this young Prince, to advance his Interest, are no less than the greatest and powerfulest Potentates of *Europe*. Princes that are as wealthy as they are great, and as pious as powerful. To conclude, They are Princes indued with all the Qualities necessary in the Assertors of Justice. Nor are they less inclined, than able. They omit no Opportunity, grudge at no Expence, stop at no Difficulty, are discouraged at no Disappointments, but continue firm and resolute thro all the shocks of adversity in the pursuit of it.

Does Heaven seem to oppose their endeavours at present? They are modestly concerned, but not cast down; they despair not of, but with humble hopes wait its pleasure. Are their Fleets Dispersed and Shattered? They repair the damage

mage with new. Is Money wanting? They freely open their Treasure, to disburse for the Common Advantage. Thus their Efforts are every way proportionable to the grand design in view. And it must be no small life to the Present Affairs to see their Ardour thus surmount all Difficulties, and no less an Omen to the happy Event of their persevering Resolution, to promote the Cause of Justice, cost what it will.

Such Vigorous Efforts as these will mightily influence the *Spaniards* themselves, who must blush to see their Neighbours more concerned for their Interest, than they themselves, and so earnestly apply to their relief, whilst they look on only; and at the same time cannot but dread the Vengeance of such united Powers, if employed against them. As they appear terribly charming, which certainly they must to them, as Friends, so they must be very frightful, (since so resolute,) if beheld as Enemies. The *Spaniards* will probably reflect, that the earner the Confederates are in their relief, whilst Friends, the more implacable their Resentments will prove, if forced to be Enemies. But setting aside any outward constraint upon them, we cannot suspect their
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Good Offices to their Prince. If we consider them a people most perniciously cheated and imposed on, resenting such an Injury, and (as appears from their frequent Insurrections) impatient of an opportunity to declare themselves. A People that can have no Colour, (had they not been cheated) or Authority, or Interest to act in favour of the Duke of *Anjou*; and that consequently cannot affect Him for their Prince. A People that are too well acquainted with the Merits of the House of *Austria*, to quit it for that of *Bourbon*: and lastly, a People, that must be believed, from these, willing and certainly are capable in a great measure of assisting their lawful Prince.

Thus *Charles* the Third, in an impartial Eye, must appear to have the fairest prospect of an establishment on the Throne of *Spain*. The Justice of his Title, the Consent of Nations, and the Hearts of those he is to govern, being far preferable to Injustice, Violence and Constraint. And 'tis to be hoped, there will need but little Force, when the Heart seems to be won already. This Prospect is sufficient for us to wait with Patience, the event of so great Promises.

F I N I S.